

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 4121

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE CGEN CVIS CPAS SHUM PL US

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ADAMSKI ON FREEDOM
OF MOVEMENT/DIVIDED FAMILIES

REF: WARSAW 3176

1. ON MAY 15, I CALLED AGAIN ON VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ADAMSKI, AT MY REQUEST, TO DISCUSS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND DIVIDED FAMILIES. INSTEAD OF THE MFA, WE MET AT POLONIA HOUSE, WHERE ADAMSKI WEARS HIS SECOND HAT AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE POLONIA SOCIETY.

2. I OPENED BY REFERRING TO THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS WITH FAMILY TIES ABROAD. THESE RESPONSIBILITIES, I SAID, HAD BEEN UNDERScoreD BY OUR SIGNING BOTH THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AT LARGE WERE INCREASINGLY INTERESTED IN THE DIVIDED FAMILIES AND FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT ISSUES. I RECALLED THAT WE HAD BEGUN SOME YEARS AGO TO REPRESENT TO THE MFA CASES IN WHICH POLES SEEKING TO JOIN RELATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN REFUSED PASSPORTS AT LEAST TWICE BY THE GOP. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THESE HAD BEEN SOLVED, AS OF EARLY MAY SOME 1000 CASES INVOLVING OVER 3000 PEOPLE WERE STILL UNRESOLVED.

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3. WE HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE CASES SOLVED IN DECEMBER, 1977. HOWEVER, SINCE THEN THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE REAL PROGRESS. THE NUMBERS OF UNRESOLVED CASES CONTINUED TO RISE. WE UNDERSTOOD THAT USG AND GOP STATISTICS ON SUCH CASES WOULD LIKELY DIFFER. THIS WAS WHY WE SOUGHT A WORKING LEVEL CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM ON THESE CASES. IF THE GOP REJECTED THIS, THEN THESE STATISTICAL DIFFERENCES WOULD REMAIN AND THE PRESIDENT'S SEMI-ANNUAL CSCE

IMPLEMENTATION REPORT WOULD REFLECT USG STATISTICS. IN SHORT, THEREFORE, WE FELT THAT MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT CAN SAY THAT POLAND'S PERFORMANCE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD IS IMPROVING.

4. MOREOVER, IF LITTLE OR NO PROGRESS IS MADE ON DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUES, THIS COULD LEAD TO DIFFICULTIES IN OTHER AREAS OF OUR RELATIONS. AS THE NUMBER OF UNRESOLVED CASES GROWS, PUBLIC OPINION AT HOME INEVITABLY WILL PAY INCREASING ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEM. THIS COULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, INCLUDING POLONIA, WHY COOPERATION IS WORTHWHILE IN THE ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL, AGRICULTURAL, TECHNICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS.

5. ADAMSKI ANSWERED THAT THE GOP IS CONSTANTLY PROVING HOW WELL IT IMPLEMENTS ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION. INDEED, POLAND COULD BE HELD UP AS AN EXAMPLE OF A STATE WHICH REALLY IMPLEMENTED THOSE COMMITMENTS IN CONTRAST TO OTHER STATES WHICH COULD NOT. HE POINTED TO POLISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL, MEDICAL CARE DELIVERY, SOCIAL WELFARE, AND PENSIONS FIELDS. HE ALSO ALLUDED TO THE WIDESPREAD PRESENCE OF AMERICAN AND OTHER CULTURES IN POLAND.

6. ON THE DIVIDED FAMILIES QUESTION, ADAMSKI CLAIMED THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF POLES HAD ALREADY JOINED RELATIVES ABROAD. HOWEVER, HE SAID, GOP OFFICIALS FREQUENTLY DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM OF WHERE CONFIDENTIAL

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FAMILY REUNIFICATION SHOULD OCCUR. HE CITED THE CASE OF A WIFE WITH TWO CHILDREN IN POLAND WHOSE SAILOR HUSBAND FATHER HAD RECENTLY JUMPED SHIP IN THE U.S. WHY, HE ASKED, SHOULD REUNIFICATION OCCUR IN THE U.S. AND NOT IN POLAND WHERE THE MAJORITY OF THE FAMILY WAS LOCATED? ADAMSKI SAID THE GOP WOULD DISCUSS THE DIVIDED FAMILIES CASES, BUT NOTED THAT THEY DID, AFTER ALL, CONCERN POLISH CITIZENS. THE GOP HAD NEVER REFUSED TO CONSIDER THOSE CASES WHICH THE EMBASSY HAD RAISED, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE ON SOME OF THEM. HOWEVER, THE DECISIONS IN THESE CASES WOULD HAVE TO BE POLISH, EVEN THOUGH THE U.S. MIGHT PERHAPS PLAY AN "AUZILIARY ROLE".

7. ON LINKAGE, ADAMSKI SAID THE POLES DO NOT SEE MUCH IN COMMON BETWEEN THE VARIOUS SECTORS OF U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOP DID NOT WANT THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE TO AFFECT THOSE RELATIONS ADVERSELY AND THAT IT PROPOSED TO DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE IN THE SAME SPIRIT AS HERETOFORE. THE U.S. WOULD SEE THAT THE GOP WAS NOT INFLEXIBLE AND WOULD NOT ADD RESTRICTIONS. HE THEN ASKED ME -- AND THROUGH ME, "INFLUENTIAL CIRCLES" AND "OPINION MAKERS" IN THE U.S. -- TO UNDERSTAND THE POLISH POSITION. POLAND HAD SUFFERED TERRIBLE HUMAN LOSSES IN THE PAST FROM MASS EMIGRATION AND, OF COURSE, FROM WORLD WAR II. HE ASKED

FOR UNDERSTANDING, SAYING THE GOP WAS DETERMINED TO MAKE UP
THESE HUMAN LOSSES AND PROCEED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 4121

8. ADAMSKI'S NOTETAKER, JANUSZ MICKIEWICZ, OF THE MFA'S CONSULAR DEPARTMENT, THEN INTERJECTED THAT THE CONCEPT OF A "MIXED COMMISSION," PREVIOUSLY RAISED BY THE US RAN COUNTER TO THE HEL-SINKI COMMITMENT NOT TO INTERVENE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. PASSPORT ISSUANCE, HE EMPHASIZED, IS SUCH AN INTERNAL MATTER. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE GOP WOULD NOT DISCUSS DIVIDED FAMILY CASES. MICKIEWICZ ADDED THAT WORKING LEVEL EMBASSY OFFICERS COULD CONFIRM THAT THERE HAD BEEN COOPERATION IN THE PAST. HE CLOSED BY REFERRING TO THE COOPERATION THAT THE GOP HAD DEMONSTRATED DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT - AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO THE SPATE OF CASE RESOLUTIONS IN DECEMBER, 1977.

9. AFTER THANKING ADAMSKI FOR HIS STATEMENT, I AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF WHERE FAMILY REUNIFICATION SHOULD OCCUR WAS OFTEN DIFFICULT. HOWEVER, WITHOUT AN INTERNATIONAL RULE, WE ACCEPTED THE PERSONAL WISHES OF THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED. I ALSO NOTED THAT IT WAS VERY EASY FOR AMERICANS TO GET PASSPORTS, AND THAT PRACTICALLY NO GROUNDS EXISTED FOR REFUSAL BY THE USG. I ACKNOWLEDGED THE GOP'S SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO ISSUE OR DENY PASSPORTS AND SAID WE SYMPATHIZED WITH POLAND'S HUMAN LOSSES AND UNDERSTOOD THE DESIRE TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY FURTHER AFTER THE GOOD JOB DONE SO FAR. FURTHERMORE, WE COULD UNDERSTAND POLISH SENSITIVITIES ABOUT INTERFERENCES IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HOWEVER, WE ARE DEALING IN THIS AREA WITH THE HUMAN PROBLEMS OF INDIVIDUALS. BOTH COUNTRIES HAD SIGNED THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION, WHICH ASSERTS EVERY PERSON'S RIGHT TO LEAVE AND RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY.

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10. TO DRAMATIZE WHY BETTER BILATERAL CONSULTATION WAS NEEDED, I REFERRED TO THE 116 "HARDSHIP CASES" PRESENTED BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, AND THE MFA'S SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT THAT 51 CASES INVOLVED PEOPLE NO LONGER INTERESTED IN REUNIFICATION IN THE U.S. WE HAD ALREADY HEARD FROM 35 OF THESE PERSONS THAT THEY DID WISH TO JOIN THEIR FAMILIES IN THE U.S. OUR PROPOSAL FOR A REVIEW MECHANISM WAS DESIGNED TO AVOID SUCH DISCREPANCIES.

11. WITH REGARD TO LINKAGE, I NOTED THAT ALL THE VARIOUS U.S. PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS INVOLVING RELATIONS '5# 09)-,\$ 4317843\$, IN SOME DEGREE, CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR FUNDING AND AUTHORIZATION. IT WAS NORMAL IN A PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION FOR THE LEGISLATORS TO EXAMINE OTHER FACTORS IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONS.

12. I RECALLED THAT WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER CAME TO POLAND, HE DISCUSSED THREE GENERAL SUBJECTS IN ADDITION TO HIS WISH TO IMPROVE OUR ALREADY FRIENDLY RELATIONS. THESE WERE THE GLOBAL POLITICAL SITUATION, INCLUDING VARIOUS US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS, POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND HOW THE UNITED STATES COULD ASSIST, AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, INCLUDING FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND DIVIDED FAMILIES. WHILE HERE, HE ANNOUNCED AN INCREASE IN GRAIN CREDITS. AGRICULTURE SECRETARY BERGLAND VISITS POLAND THIS WEEK. THREE WEEKS THEREAFTER, HEW SECRETARY CALIFANO ARRIVES. THERE CAN, THEREFORE, BE NO QUESTION OF OUR SINCERITY IN SEEKING THE BEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH POLAND. HOWEVER, THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE PROGRESS ON THE THIRD SUBJECT TAKEN UP BY THE PRESIDENT, I.E., HUMAN RIGHTS, SINCE DECEMBER, 1977. I SAID THAT THIS WAS A LITTLE UNBALANCED IN A SITUATION WHERE THE BEST RELATIONS DEPENDED ON THEIR BEING MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS FOR BOTH SIDES. I REMINDED HIM THAT, AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE POLONIA SOCIETY, THE INTERESTED AMERICANS MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH THIS QUESTION ARE THOSE WITH WHOM HE WISHES TO IMPROVE CONTACTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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13. ADAMSKI RESPONDED THAT THE GOP THOUGHT ALL ELEMENTS IN OUR RELATIONS WERE IMPORTANT AND THAT THE POLES WANTED TO BE GOOD PARTNERS. HE REAFFIRMED THE POLISH DESIRE TO EXAMINE ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. HE WOULD PRESENT MY VIEWS TO OTHERS IN THE GOP AND THEY WOULD BE STUDIED WITH THE AIM OF WORKING OUT

SOLUTIONS. PBIAND APPRECIATED ITS RELATIONS WITH GAE UNITED STATES AND ALWAYS GAVE THEM THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE. MICKIEWICZ THEN INTERJECTED THAT THE POLISH SIDE WOULD ACCEPT THE LIST OF

THE 35 CASES REFERRED IN PARA 10 ABOVE.

14. COMMENT: ADAMSKI TOOK THE HIGH ROAD IN THIS MEETING AND DID NOT DREDGE UP SOME OF THE COUNTER-CHARGES AND SIDE-ISSUES WHICH I HAD BEEN PREPARED TO ANSWER. HIS TONE SEEMED FRANK, AND HE SHOWED AWARENESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ALL THE DIMENSIONS OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP. I FIND IT INTERESTING THAT HE ACCEPTED THE LIST OF 35 DISPUTED CASES AT THE PROMPTING OF A CONSULAR DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, IN EFFECT RETURNING THE ACTION TO THE WORKING LEVEL WHERE IT HAS BEEN FOR SOME TIME. ONE REASON WE SEE SOME ADVANTAGE TO TALKING TO ADAMSKI IS THAT HE COMES OUT OF THE PARTY HIERARCHY AND NOT THE BUREAUCRACY. ALTHOUGH I THANKED ADAMSKI FOR HIS WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE AGAIN AND REITERATED OUR DESIRE TO BE HELPFUL, WE MUST NOW WAIT TO SEE WHAT THE POLES WILL DO WITH THE LIST. END COMMENT.
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